

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 4204

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TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE - ALLIED HANDLING OF AGENDA ITEM III

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

SUMMARY: REFLECTING CONSENSUS DEVELOPED AT THEIR
SEPTEMBER 3-5 MEETING IN COPENHAGEN, EC-9 MEMBERS ARGUED
STRONGLY AT SEPTEMBER 6 SENIOR POLADS MEETING FOR PRAGMATIC
APPROACH TO AGENDA ITEM THREE ISSUED IN GENEVA WHICH
WOULD AVOID FOCUSING ON FINAL OUTCOMES. CANADIAN AND US
REPS SUGGESTED THAT ALLIES NEEDED HAVE PICTURE OF WHAT
THEY WERE AIMING FOR ON THIS AGENDA ITEM BUT FOUND LITTLE
SUPPORT IN COMMITTEE. END SUMMARY.

1. REFERRING TO PREVIOUS DISCUSSION IN COMMITTEE, US REP
NOTED THAT ALLIED CSCE CONSULTATIONS DURING LAST TWO MONTHS
HAD MADE PROGRESS ON PRINCIPLES AND ECONOMIC ISSUES. HE
POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT ON TWO ASPECTS OF PARTICULAR
IMPORTANCE TO ALLIES, I.E. CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES
(CBM'S) AND AGENDA ITEM THREE, ALLIED PREPARATIONS APPEARED
TO BE MUCH LESS ADVANCE. NOTING THAT CBM'S WOULD BE
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DISCUSSED BY POLADS BEGINNING SEPTEMBER 11, US REP
SUGGESTED THAT SPC CONSIDER HOW ALLIES WOULD PRESENT
THEIR POSITION ON AGENDA ITEM THREE AND WHAT ALLIES SHOULD
AIM AT ACHIEVING IN THIS AREA. CANADIAN REP EXPRESSED

GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH THIS SUGGESTION AND WENT ON TO OUTLINE RELATIVELY COMPLEX SET OF INTERRELATED AGREEMENTS WHICH OTTAWA BELIEVED ALLIES SHOULD SEEK AT CSCE. CANADIAN REP ARGUED THAT ALLIES SHOULD APPROACH SUBJECT IN TERMS OF LIKELY OUTCOMES AND SUGGESTED THAT FINAL "DECLARATION OF HELSINKI" WOULD PROBABLY BE ONE DOCUMENT WITH LARGE NUMBER OF ATTACHMENTS. TO ENSURE THAT POINTS OF INTEREST TO ALLIES ARE INCLUDED IN FINAL PACKAGE. CANADIAN REP SAID ALLIES NEEDED REACH TENTATIVE CONSENSUS ON HOW THIS PACKAGE SHOULD BE ORGANIZED.

2. REACTION OF EC-9 REPS TO CANADIAN PROPOSAL WAS GENERALLY NEGATIVE. THEY ARGUED THAT IN DISCUSSIONS ON AGENDA ITEM THREE ISSUES, ALLIED DELEGATIONS SHOULD WORK ON BASIS OF SPECIFIC PROPOSALS, USING SO-CALLED INDUCTIVE METHOD. IN VIEW OF EC-9 REPS, IT WOULD BE PREMATURE AT PRESENT TO BEGIN TO THINK IN TERMS OF OUTCOMES, PARTICULARLY SINCE THIS COULD RESULT IN EFFORT TO FIT VARIOUS SPECIFIC SUBJECTS INTO MOLDS WHICH WERE LESS FAVORABLE THAN ALLIES MIGHT EVENTUALLY BE ABLE TO OBTAIN. US REP SUGGESTED THAT RELATIVELY UNCOORDINATED PRESENTATION OF MASS OF INDIVIDUAL ALLIED PROPOSALS WOULD PERHAPS ALLOW SOVIETS TO PICK AND CHOOSE AMONG THEM, BUT EC-9 REPS ARGUED THAT SOVIETS WOULD FOLLOW THIS TACTIC REGARDLESS OF HOW ALLIED PROPOSALS WERE PRESENTED. CANADIAN REP, WITH SUPPORT FROM US REP, AGREED THAT ALLIES SHOULD FOLLOW INDUCTIVE APPROACH BUT ARGUED THAT IN ORDER USE THIS APPROACH EFFECTIVELY ALLIES NEEDED TO KNOW WHERE THEY HOPED TO END UP IN THIS AREA. CANADIAN REP NOTED THAT EC-9 MEMBERS PROPOSED TO PRESENT 23 OR 24 SPECIFIC PROPOSALS AT GENEVA UNDER AGENDA ITEM THREE AND SUGGESTED THAT IT WAS ILLUSORY TO BELIEVE THAT EACH ITEM WOULD BE COVERED EVENTUALLY BY SEPARATE AGREEMENT. SEVERAL EC-9 MEMBERS AGREED WITH THIS EVALUATION BUT THEY CONTINUED TO ARGUE THAT IT WAS POINTLESS TO CONSIDER AT PRESENT HOW THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE ALLIED PROPOSALS UNDER AGENDA ITEM THREE COULD BE RELATED IN FINAL CSCE DOCUMENT(S).

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3. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT ALLIES WOULD, ON BALANCE, BE BETTER OFF IF THEY HAD AT LEAST TENTATIVE AGREEMENT ON WHAT THEY HOPED TO ACHIEVE UNDER AGENDA ITEM THREE, WE CAN ALSO SEE MERIT IN EC-9 VIEW THAT CONTOURS OF EVENTUAL AGREEMENTS IN THIS AREA WILL BECOME CLEAR ONLY AFTER SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION IN GENEVA HAS CLARIFIED BASIC UNKNOWN, I.E. HOW MUCH ARE SOVIETS PREPARED TO GIVE. WE ANTICIPATE THAT VARIOUS ALLIED DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA WILL PRESENT LARGE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL PROPOSALS DURING OPENING WEEK OF AGENDA ITEM THREE SUBCOMMITTEE WORK AND THAT ONLY AFTER SEVERAL WEEKS OF DISCUSSION WILL EC-9 MEMBERS BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER HOW VARIOUS ELEMENTS COULD BE ORGANIZED IN PACKAGE WHICH CAN BE SOLD TO SOVIETS. EC-9 MEMBERS HAVE APPARENTLY

CONCLUDED THAT THEREIS CHANCE TO OBTAIN SOME SPECIFIC
UNDERTAKINGS BEYOND GENERAL DECLARATIONS AND DO NOT WISH
TO FORECLOSE ANY OPTIONS.
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